



news release

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY SCORES LABOR RECORD OF WALLACE AND NIXON

Minneapolis, Minn., September 24 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today challenged George Wallace's claim that he is the friend of the working man.

"In Wallace-land," said the Vice President, "the worker finds low wages, low unemployment benefits, the lowest workmen's compensation in the country, unemployment rates above the national average, and the highest sales tax in the country."

In a speech before the AFL-CIO Minnesota State Convention, Mr. Humphrey also assailed Wallace's claim that he would restore law and order. Mr. Wallace, said the Vice President, "was governor of a state which has one of the highest murder rates -- roughly twice that for the whole country. When George Wallace ran Alabama from 1962-1966, crime rose 55.6 percent, higher than the national increase."

Mr. Humphrey also scored Richard Nixon, saying that his "public record for 22 years condemns him as an enemy of labor and an enemy of the workingman." He said that Mr. Nixon had consistently voted against pro-Labor legislation and was one of those who had helped "draft and pass Taft-Hartley."

The Vice President said that this was only one of "at least five crucial reasons why the Democrats must win in November." He said that our prosperity depends on a Democratic victory, noting that Nixon's theory of economic growth consists of "all the benefits going in at the top and trickling down to the workingman."

The cause of world peace will be better served by a Humphrey Administration, he said, repeating his pledge to make the end of the war in Vietnam his first priority as President.

The Vice President also promised a "New Day for all Americans. We are now ready to reach new goals, and fulfill new needs for the average American. And there is only one party which has ever paid any attention to the needs of average America -- the Democratic Party."

The text of the Vice President's remarks is attached.

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REMARKS BY
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
AFL-CIO STATE CONVENTION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
SEPTEMBER 24, 1968

I've come home to Minnesota to talk with you bluntly and frankly about the hard realities which confront this nation ... and about the challenges facing the greatest instrument of human progress ever fashioned by the hands of free men -- the Democratic Party.

There are at least five crucial reasons why the Democrats must win in November:

First, our prosperity.

I do not accept the Republican-Nixon "trickle down" theory of economic growth -- with all the benefits going in at the top and trickling down to the working man.

I believe in fat Democratic paychecks -- not lean Republican ones.

I believe in the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey economics policies of the 1960's which raised personal income -- after taxes -- and after cost of living increases -- three times faster than during the Republican-Nixon year.

The Republicans tell us they're proud of their economic record -- a record that included three recessions ... an unemployment rate of nearly 7 percent in 1961, with real family income falling ... an annual waste of 50 billion dollars through idle productive capacity.

If they're proud of that -- and they say they are -- they haven't learned. I don't think America can afford another stretch of Republican on-the-job training.

Second, the Democrats must win to bring peace in Vietnam and to secure peace in the world.

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President takes office.

We all pray that we shall have reached a cease-fire, with the killing ended, and with serious negotiations going forward toward a durable peace.

But if the war still continues on January 20, 1969, I make this pledge:

The first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to end the war in Vietnam.

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But if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow, there would still be tensions in the world we must face and overcome.

Today we can take a major step toward that goal and vastly increase our security in the process.

Pending in the Senate is a treaty which will stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty countries have already signed it.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, this treaty is one of the most hopeful and important steps toward a world free of nuclear terror.

Unless we want to risk every border skirmish becoming a nuclear war, the United States must ratify this treaty -- now.

Richard Nixon is stalling on this treaty -- and he may well bring it crashing down to defeat.

I urge Mr. Nixon to come out of the shadows -- to stop stalling -- and to tell us whether he is for this treaty now!

Third, we must go beyond the New Deal ... to open a New Day for all Americans.

Nearly all the goals of the New Deal have been reached.

Millions of Americans have assumed a real stake in America and want to protect that stake -- with the help, encouragement and aid of the Democratic Party.

We are now ready to reach new goals, and fulfill new needs for the average American. And there is only one party which has ever paid any attention to the needs of average America -- the Democratic Party.

I have proposed a practical and specific blueprint for action against crime and lawlessness. I have proposed putting the muscle of the Federal Government behind your local police department -- better salaries, better training, advanced equipment.

That's how I propose to support your local police -- and I say slogans and fear-mongering are a sure ticket to disaster.

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I'm the only candidate who has ever managed a city police department and actually cleared up organized crime and crime in the streets. And some of you will remember that I got the FBI award for doing it right here in Minneapolis.

I have proposed to bring college and vocational education within reach of millions of American youngsters -- without bankrupting their families.

Long ago, I began pushing for federal aid to colleges and universities -- and I had to fight the Nixon-Republican every step of the way.

Last year, as a result of Democratic leadership, over 600,000 young men and women -- many of them sons and daughters of union members -- received scholarships and loans to attend college.

Now, I have pledged the Humphrey-Muskie Administration to press for legislation to assure every child a full education from age four through college or advanced training -- on the basis of his ability to learn and not his ability to pay.

Costly? Yes, it will cost money. But, in the long run, it will cost far more if we don't make this investment in our greatest national resource -- your sons and daughters.

Millions of Americans today are worried about the crush of taxes ... about making ends meet on a moderate income ... about inflation.

I have pledged myself to tax reform -- where we look for every possible means to distribute the national tax burden more equally, thereby reducing pressures on low and middle income families.

But let the record be absolutely clear on this point: Today -- even with the recent tax increase -- lower and middle income families are paying less taxes than in 1961. The 20% bracket of 1961 is only 14% now and the 30% bracket is now 27.5%.

We will explore sharing federal revenues with states and cities, so that your local schools and local public services can be improved -- so that your mayor will have the chance to hold the line or cut back on local property taxes.

Fourth, the Democrats must win to achieve unity, reconciliation and justice in America.

"America" means equality and opportunity for all. We cannot become two nations divided between city and suburb -- rich and poor -- black and white -- young and old.

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Just as there can be no compromise on the rights of personal security and safety in the streets and in one's home, so there can be no compromise on securing human rights for every American.

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years -- that we can only be one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

And I ask every candidate in this election to speak out clearly on human rights.

Fifth, the Democrats must win to protect the hard-won gains of American workers -- and to move forward toward greater prosperity and opportunity for all.

No matter what he says today, Richard M. Nixon's 22 year public record condemns him as an enemy of labor and an enemy of the working man.

In four years in the House -- two years in the Senate -- and eight years as Vice President -- Mr. Nixon ... failed to cast a single vote for fair labor-management relations legislation -- equitable regulation of welfare and pension funds -- safeguards for Davis-Bacon wage provisions, -- adequate unemployment compensation -- or the relief of chronically depressed areas.

Mr. Nixon helped draft and pass Taft-Hartley ... and repass it over Harry Truman's veto.

Mr. Nixon voted to weaken the minimum wage act by eliminating instead of expanding coverage for about 1 million workers.

Mr. Nixon consistently advocated a labor policy which would restrict the power of union leaders -- keep government out of labor-management disputes -- invoke governmental powers against unions -- leave unemployment compensation questions to the states.

And George Wallace.

George Wallace says he is a friend of the "little man" ... of the working man.

But listen to George Meany tell it like it is on Mr. Wallace: ... "The record of low wages -- poor working conditions -- high crime rate -- high illiteracy rates -- and anti-unionism - segregation and prejudice in Alabama testifies to the falsity of that claim."

George Wallace, who says he will restore "law and order," was Governor of a state which has one of the highest murder rates -- roughly twice that for the whole country.

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When George Wallace ran Alabama from 1962 - 1966, crime rose 55.6 percent -- higher than the national increase.

In Wallace-land, the worker finds low wages -- low unemployment benefits -- the lowest workmen's compensation in the country -- unemployment rates above the national average -- and the highest sales tax in the country.

I say words count for little when actions speak so loudly.

I come before you under no false colors.

For 25 years I have been in the middle of every major battle the Democrats have fought in the cause of human liberation.

We have won some battles -- and we have lost some.

And I have a few bumps and bruises.

But I look back and I know how far we've come -- I know how we have brought this nation forward -- usually against the determined opposition of the Republicans -- and often against the personal opposition of their candidate for the Presidency.

And I say these years -- these battles -- tell us something about who ought to lead this nation in the difficult years ahead.

I say these years have told the story of who is there when the chips are down -- who is there when your future, and the future of your children, is on the line.

This is a difficult campaign.

The newspapers say I'm the underdog -- and I always believe what I read in the papers.

But let me say this: I don't believe for one minute that the American people will, in the end, forget the differences between Humphrey-Muskie Democrats and Nixon-Agnew Republicans.

And so I intend to stump this country -- just as I used to stump this state -- until every American family understands clearly their choice in this election.

I want it to be said of Hubert Humphrey -- that in an important and tough moment of his life -- he stood by what he believed.

And I want it said of the American people -- that in an important and tough election -- they had the courage to go forward under the Democratic banner.

I have come home to Minnesota to ask your help.

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AFL-CIO Address
Minneapolis, Minnesota
September 24,
1968

Mr. Roe. Vice President Humphrey, Muriel Humphrey, Senator and Mrs. Fred Harris from Oklahoma - welcome.

I think everything that needs to be said about the man that I'm going to introduce has been said at this convention over and over again. The labor movement has known his qualifications for over 20 years. (Applause)

Delegates, guests, and friends of the Vice President, I now give you the Vice President and the next President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey. (Applause)

Vice President Humphrey. (In answer to call, "Give 'em hell") It may be too good for them.

Well, Dave, your boys and girls are just as noisy as they were when I was here cheering them on. You have them well trained.

What a wonderful pleasure it is for Muriel and myself to be with our friends of the Minnesota AFL-CIO. It's like old home week for us and you folks know it.

By the way, before I go one minute longer, where is my friend, Johnny Blatnik?

Come on up here, Johnny. I like to have you up here backing me up, not out there.

Is Joe Karth here, or Don Fraser?

Joe Donovan?

Come here, Joe.

You know, I spend so much time thinking about Democrats and hoping that I'll get elected, every time I see one, I want him up front, you know.

How about that Mayor of Saint Paul?

Come on up, Joe, we have to have one Irishman up here.

There are undoubtedly others that should be here at this front table. The only reason I asked these good men to come up is because they represent the things that you have been fighting for and they also represent the people that you have elected.

I have so many notes here today. I'm not at all sure how much I'm going to pay attention to them. I'll try to throw some away and throw a few in and see if we can't come up with something here that sort of puts us back together again as the family and friends that we have been.

The first thing I want to do is again to ask that my good friend, who is my so-chairman along with Senator Mondale, made it possible for me to be the nominee of the Democratic Party. I want one of the finest, the most brilliant, the most progressive and effective Senators of the United States Senate to stand and take a bow with his pretty wife, Fred and La Donna Harris.

Fred, stand up. These folks are like down home, and when you stand, you stand. They want to take a good look.

I remember when I went to Oklahoma, he wouldn't let me sit down.

I've traveled now a good deal around our country as a candidate, first for the nomination and now as the leader and the nominee of my party, the Democratic Party. Wherever I've been, I've told them about our great labor movement in Minnesota. Wherever I've been, I've told them about the days that Mrs. Humphrey and I spent with our friends over at the Central Labor Union and over at the Labor Temple in Saint Paul, around at the different halls in the Iron Range, Duluth and Southern Minnesota and some of the different places we've been. And I've never once ever been anything but proud to say that in all of my days in the search for public office and seeking the support of the constituency or the electorate, that I've been proud to carry in every single campaign in which I've been involved the endorsement of my city and my state, and now of our nation. (Applause)

Yes, wherever we go, we meet with our friends from organized labor and I've talked to them about what I believe our respective responsibilities are, because I got into this campaign, first of all when one of the great men in labor, Mr. Meany, came to my office after President Johnson had announced that he would not seek reelection. Mr. Meany came to my office and said, Mr. Vice President, you must become a candidate. And we talked about it at some length. And it was about two and a half weeks later, after having gone around the country a bit, talking to people in every walk of life, that I decided to make that, to take that step and make that advance. And as you know, it has been my privilege now to be the nominee. And I'm going to the labor movement now, asking as never before for your help. Because you have such a stake in this election.

I don't believe there is any group in America that better understands what this election is all about than the members of organized labor. Now, I know that some of your membership is new and young and therefore do not remember the record of the Republican nominee and maybe have not heard of the record of the Third Party candidate. So it is your duty and my duty to give them that information-- not to scold them and not to say why didn't you know better, but to assume that they did not know and to assume that it's our duty and our privilege, and indeed our responsibility to see that they get that information. And that's why I come to you today, to talk to you about what I believe is at stake in this election and why I need your help and why I want you to go to your families and to your relatives and why I want you to go to your membership in your locals and make this a fight like you've never fought before. Because mark my words, 1968 has many of the characteristics of 1948. They said it couldn't be done. In 1948 here in Minnesota, they said that I couldn't be elected to the Senate. In 1948, they said that I was the underdog. In 1948, they said that the Republican Senator inevitably would win. In 1948, they said that Truman couldn't win.

Well, my dear friends, this is 1968, and we intend to do exactly in 1968 what we did in 1948. (Applause)

We have the means to do it, we have the record to do it, and we have the candidates to do it. And I come to you with our case.

The first thing I want you to remember is that whoever is President of the U. S., we have to have a majority in that Congress. That means that here in the state of Minnesota, we have to do some work.

First of all, we need to reelect those that we have elected on the liberal Democrat-Farmer-Labor ticket. Then we need to pick up some more seats all across this state, and we can. There isn't any reason at all in a state of eight Congressional Districts that we should have only three out of those eight.

This state is progressive. It's forward-looking. This state is a Democrat-Farmer-Labor state. If we bring our ranks together, if we forget the petty differences of yesterday, if we put principle over and above any personal ambition, we can win, and we can elect not three; we ought to be able to elect a minimum of six.

Yes, I'll give the Republicans a couple there. We've got to have a two-party system. (Applause)

But we ought to be able to come out of here with at least two-thirds and three-fourths, and I would be happy if we came out with a solid sweep. But I'm a realist.

Here we have John Blatnik, the senior member of our Congressional delegation. There isn't a better man in the halls of Congress than our own John Blatnik, and he needs a little bit of help.

And I look for the day when he's either Speaker or Majority Leader of the House of Representatives. He has the qualities to be either one.

Then we have over there the Fourth Congressional District, Joe Karth, and Joe Karth needs your help and I need him in the Congress of the U. S. (Applause)

Then we have here in the Fifth Congressional District a man who is under vicious, unprincipled attack by the Republican opposition, contesting this man's patriotism. I never thought I would see the day when a Republican candidate in this state of Minnesota -- because Republicans are supposed to be well-mannered around here and well-groomed -- I never thought I would see the day when one of them stooped to contest the loyalty and the patriotism and the devotion to country. But I've seen one in the Fifth District.

I want to make it right clear here that you don't have a better man in Washington representing the people of the District than you have in Don Fraser. (Applause)

But once in a while, somebody says to me, well, you fellows don't agree on everything.

So? So what? If that was the case, nobody would ever get married.

We don't agree on everything in our unions. We don't agree on everything in anything we have.

We, as Democrats, are not asking that everybody march in lock step. In fact, we hope that you'll march to your own music. We just want you in our parade, that's all. (Applause)

Now, you've read a lot about the Democratic convention. You've read most about what happened outside the convention. That wasn't our show. That was put on by somebody else. Our show was inside the convention, and we had a rip-roaring, good old-fashioned Democratic convention. We debated everything out in the public, we called the roll, we had hearings and testimony. Anybody could say what they wanted to; the time was equally divided; it was an open convention.

Sure, it was a restless one. Sometimes it got plain ugly. But I'll tell you, I'll take that restless, rambunctious noisy Democratic convention with all of its differences and all of its difficulties to that sad-sack affair that went on down in Miami Beach any time. (Applause)

I tell you, this is the first time in the history of politics that anybody has had a national wake for a candidate that's soon to be politically deceased. (Applause)

Yes, we have our problems. But anybody that knows this state knows this is the way we built our party out here. This wasn't one of those cool, confident, well-organized, well-groomed Fifth Avenue specials. We put this D-F-L together out here on the anvil of conflict and argument. That's the way we are. Mr. Nixon apparently doesn't know that, but he'll find out before this campaign is over, I'll guarantee you. (Applause)

He's trying to hide out like a Minnesota pheasant. But I want him to know that I've flushed many a better bird than he is. (Applause)

And he may think that being a moving target makes him harder to hit, but I've hit them coming out of the bushes left and right, folks. (Applause)

So if you have any contact with Mr. Nixon, tell him to make it easier on himself. No use hiding out in the cold when he can be taken to the cleaners in a nice television studio.

I'm trying my darnedest to get that fellow to stand up. I said to the press boys in here just about an hour ago that if he floated as many ideas as he does balloons, he would amount to something as a candidate. Yes, everytime I see one of those Nixon extravaganzas, there are balloons coming down. Somebody in that party must have the balloon concession.

Then there is a rainstorm of confetti. Well, I'll tell you what I'm going to float -- good, solid, liberal, progressive ideas and the only rainstorm we want is the rainstorm of votes on November 5, your votes. (Applause)

Well, we've had a lot of fun out here. Don't believe everything you read, folks. It isn't that bad. There may be a political funeral, but they cut the wrong name in the headstone. I tell you, if I believed everything I read, I wouldn't have even run for the job.

I've been reading about the campaign's in the doldrums and I've been reading about that it's poorly organized, and I've been reading about that we don't have any crowds, and I've been reading about the voters are apathetic.

I've read about it every time I've been elected -- every time. (Applause)

Why, I know that. Some of you right here, we worked together. You remember the first time I ran for Mayor, you know, got elected. The first time I got touched up with a little defeat. We had enthusiasm that time, but we lost. We were short on votes.

The next time, we didn't have as much enthusiasm, but we won. We were long on votes. I was the underdog. But I had a good bark, and I had a bit of bite, too. And the top dog got bit. I guess that's proper grammar. Anyway, we won.

I've been reading about all these things, and if you believe all that nonsense, that's what people want you to believe. There's only one way to show people how wrong they are and that's to do what's right. And what's right in this campaign, you know, because there are three candidates for office. Two of them are your inveterate enemies, and one has been your lifelong friend, and you're looking at him. (Applause)

I just want you to know that was enthusiasm. I hope you've got enough votes now to back it up.

Well, you know, yesterday, Mr. Nixon gave forth his views on the economy. About a week ago, he said -- well, you remember, I think it was about ten days ago that he thought I was interested in doubling the war on poverty. Of course he wasn't. He wasn't interested in killing off his own. He contributed to that poverty problem. And I want to talk to you a little bit about economy.

You remember when I used to come out here and talk to you about George Humphrey and Hubert Humphrey? Some of you do. Old George Humphrey was the Secretary of the Treasury under the Republican administration from 1953 to 1961. He was Nixon's economic adviser. I used to call him "Trickle-down George" -- in full respect, may I say -- and I called myself "Percolate-up Hubert."

It's just the same right now. The only difference is George is out, Nixon is trying to get in, and I'm in.

Well, I want to make it very clear I do not accept as being very good for this country the trickle-down theory of economics which has been espoused and proclaimed by the Republican leadership in this century. I don't think it's good for the labor movement; I don't think it's good for business; I don't think it's good for farmers; I don't think it's good for anybody. And that Republican economic theory is, you know, one year of growth then choke up, start coughing and choke up, start coughing and sputter, lie down.

Three recessions in eight years. Three recessions in eight years. And I was back here as your Senator during those years. You know what we used to talk about -- how can we get some more unemployment compensation? How can we get some jobs up in the Iron Range? How can we put somebody to work over in Minneapolis and Saint Paul?

Yes, you were told it was fine. The unemployment in some of our cities here in Minnesota was as high as 25 per cent of the work force. And right here in the Twin Cities, it was up as high as 12 per cent. That's good old Nixon-Republican economics.

You know, the other day, I talked about the Nixon-Agnew party, because all Republicans are not that bad. They're really not. I wouldn't want to be unfair here. We've got some that sit about five days a week, ponder one, and vote with us on the seventh. That's good enough for me.

But that Nixon-Agnew Party. When you're down in government, you always take the first initial out of each name and you put it together and you call it the OEO, the Office of Economic Opportunity, or if it's the Economic Development Administration, it's the EDA. If you take a look at the Nixon-Agnew Party, you take N A P.

What does it stand for? A nap. I won't say the Republicans are asleep all the time. I just say they take a nap when they ought to be working, that's all. They take a nap in the economy when they ought to be working.

They slow this economy down every so often. Why? Because it's old-fashioned conservative economics that what you need is a reservoir of unemployed so you don't have a tight labor market. Then it makes it more difficult for you to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement. It makes it more difficult for you to get a fair wage, because

somebody can tell you, we don't need you.

That's not the Democratic economics. The Democratic economics is a full employment program. It's a strong labor movement. It's effective collective bargaining. It's increased take-home pay. And that's the difference. And I can document it.

Three recessions in eight Republican years that cost this nation \$175 billion in lost income from unemployment alone. And in eight Democratic years, Kennedy-Johnson, Johnson-Humphrey, in eight of those years, 90 consecutive months of economic growth.

My dear friends, the take-home pay of the worker in those eight Republican years went up one per cent a year, about, 9 per cent for eight years -- after taxes, after price increases.

The takehome pay for a family in America today, a family of four in these nine Democratic years, has gone up 32 per cent -- 4 per cent a year.

Now, by cracky, you may want to be a Republican to make your neighbor feel good or to impress somebody at the country club, fellows, but that's too damned expensive for a lot of us. (Applause)

I saw where Mr. Nixon said the other day that the Congressional proposals made by myself between 1948 and 1961 would have cost the American taxpayers \$100 million. Then he said the country can't afford you.

Well, Mr. Nixon, if your party, after putting this country into three recessions in eight years, we could have paid for all those programs and had \$75 billion left over.

But what were those programs that he's talking about? They were Medicare, they were Federal Aid to Education, they were heart, cancer, and stroke research, they were programs to improve the living quality of our life -- programs for our cities, programs for rural America.

I guess Mr. Nixon forgot that we passed many of those programs. I guess he forgot that I'm the author of the National Defense Education Act in the Senate. I guess he has forgotten that I'm the author of the school construction act in the Senate. I guess he has forgotten that I'm the author of the Food for Peace program in the government, the Peace Corps program. These are some of the programs that Mr. Nixon talks about that we never should have passed.

Well, Mr. Nixon, it isn't the programs that we have passed that have put this country into trouble, it's the things that we didn't do because you and your crowd wouldn't let us do it that has kept this country in trouble.

So I'll just summarize it --

("Give 'em hell, Hubert!")

Vice President Humphrey. What do you think I'm doing?

("Keep it up")

Vice President Humphrey. You don't expect me to pull my best phrases out at this part of the season, do you?

Well, I guess what I can do in summary is simply to say this: I don't think that you can afford another stretch of Republican oh-the-job training.

Now, there is another issue. The first issue that I've talked to you about is the economics, because listen, I don't care how many ideas you have, how good your motives are, how high your ambitions are. If you can't pay for it, it's just talk. This economy has been growing at the rate of over four-and-a-half per cent a year under Democratic administrations. Ten million people have come out of poverty these last four years. Employment is up; unemployment is down. The unemployment rate is the lowest it has been in 15 years.

So whatever your ambition, whether it's peace or social progress or housing or a better city -- whatever it is -- it takes money. And it takes a strong economy.

Now, the second objective and the second highest calling is the question of national security and peace. I happen to believe, as I said to you in the beginning, that there are crucial reasons why the Democratic Party must win in November. The first I put is our prosperity. The second is the Democratic Party must win to insure our security and to bring peace in this world.

Now, let me talk to you about that. This man that's your President and I have traveled together. We've seen the battle that takes place in Southeast Asia. We've been with our troops. We've seen the tragedy of that war and the cost of it. We've also seen that there's no one in this world that wants peace more than those who are called upon to take the responsibilities for that struggle.

Let me lay it on the line to you. I want peace. I think that everybody wants peace. But I don't think there's any man in the world that has a greater stake in peace in Viet Nam today and wants it any more and is willing to do any more to get it than the man who today is President of the United States. He needs it and he wants it. (Applause)

And I'm going to do everything I can to help him get it -- not just for himself but because wars are dangerous and costly and ugly and brutal and because we want peace.

Now, no one knows what the situation in Viet Nam will be like next January 20. And between now and January 20, you have one President, and I'm not it. I'm not the President. I'm one of the President's advisers. I'm the Vice President. I don't know how it works in the AFL-CIO, but I know how it works in the government. The Vice President has lots of responsibility and very little authority. When you're President, you're Commander-in-Chief, and when you're President, you have authority.

Now, you take a look at this seal. Some of you have your glasses on now. Those of you who have 20-20 vision, don't worry. That's the Vice Presidential seal, and it tells a lot about this office and this position I occupy. It's an honored office. It's the second highest office within the gift of the American people. And I'm proud and grateful -- proud to be an occupant of that office and grateful for the privilege of service. But I recognize what my role is. I'm a member of a team.

I have been a downfield blocker, and I've been a downfield blocker for several administrations -- for Mr. Truman, leader of the opposition against the Republicans, a downfield blocker, a blocker and right halfback, so to speak, for John Kennedy. And I've been a blocking back for Lyndon Johnson.

And if it does seem that it takes a little while to get me out of the habit of being a blocking back to a running halfback and quarterback, be patient. Now I have my chance to be the captain of the team and a running team, and I will call the plays.

You don't often hear much about the fellow that throws that block on somebody that is coming in on the runner, but he is important. But every once in a while, he can get his hands on the ball and if he happens to change positions, which is what I am working on I will guarantee and tell you, that fellow that you had out here from the USC last week would look like he has tangle toe compared to the way I will look.

I intend to be O. J. Simpson of the Democratic Party. Coming up hot and fast in the last quarter.

Let me go back to this. Both serious and in jest. The presidential seal, you know, that American eagle looks so wonderful.. He is taking off in full flight, reaching out into the stretchhes of outter space, stratosphere, the high blue sky. Constantly looking at the higher ground and higher ideals and goals. And that presidential eagle, he has in one set of claws a whole cluster of olive branches representing this nation's desire for peace. Over in the other set of claws, he has a whole sheath of arrows representing this country's preparedness and its national security. That is a great symbol and it tells the story of the presidency, the commander in chief and the spokesman of the American people in peace and in war.

Take a look at the vice presidential seal, that poor eagle. He looks like he did not get any food stamps. It is just another way to remind you that you ought to be humble and that you ought not to have anyone u There is really a purpose here. That eagle looks like it is coming in for a crash landing. But the real interesting part is take a look at what he is holding in those claws. Over here in one set of claws there is just one little old olive sprig. How do you expect me to do much for peace under those conditions? You give me a whole batch of them and see what I can do.

And then take a look over there and you see that one arrow -- just one, that is all. Somebody said, what are you saving it for? What is it for? I said Nixon is the one.

Well, friends, war is a serious and dirty business and we all pray and I hope that we all do pray that we shall have reached the cease fire, that the killing will be ended, serious negotiations will be going forward toward a durable peace. And with the South Vietnamese being able to carry a greater share of their own burden before the next President takes over the responsibilities of this nation. That is my hope. And I will continue to hope and do everything I can to work for the fulfillment of that hope.

But I run on the platform of my party and that platform is a program for peace, for prosperity, and for progress. It is a program for ending this war, for expanding the economy, and for bringing justice to our people. On Vietnam, that platform points the way, David, to a honorable peace. And it points the way to progress in the negotiations, and it points the way to ending the bombing without jeopardy to the safety of our troops. And it points the way to the reduction in American combat forces, which is what we want, the de-Americanization of this war. When the army of South Vietnamese, can fulfill the responsibilities of its own self defense, and it points the way to free elections where the future of South Vietnam is to be decided, not in Hanoi, not in Washington, but to be

decided by the people of South Vietnam. That is a sensible platform and any sensible man that is privileged to effectuate that platform has the best chance of bringing peace in Vietnam of any man in the United States.

If this war still continues to January 20, 1969, when the new President takes the oath of office, when with your help, I am privileged to lift my hand and pledge myself to that Constitution, I make this pledge to you, that the first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to end that war in Vietnam.

But make no mistake about it, even if the war ended tomorrow, we still live in a dangerous world. We are surely -- we surely have learned that in the last month with the events in Central Europe and Czechoslovakia. And today we have a chance to build another part of the cathedral of peace. Mark my words that the building of peace is the work of giants. It is the work of men of courage. Peace never came to the timid or the weak and it never came to the impatient or those who thought with their passions or acted from passion rather than from reason. There is a treaty pending right now in the United States Senate, one that we spent three years negotiating, a treaty that I went to Europe to help negotiate a year ago -- a year and a half ago. Some of you may remember when I was in Europe in March and April of 1967. I went to six stations to talk to them about this treaty. It is a treaty that has been agreed upon between ourselves and the Soviet Union. It has been adopted by the United Nations. Eighty other nations have signed it. It is a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons technology. That treaty is one of the most hopeful and important steps toward a world free of nuclear risk and nuclear terrorism than we have ever had. Unless we want to risk every border skirmish becoming a nuclear war, unless we want 15 or 20 more countries within the next few years to have nuclear weapons and the capacity to deliver them, the United States must ratify this treaty and ratify it now. It is our treaty. It is in our interest. It is in the interest of our security and in the interest of world peace.

It does not diminish our nuclear power. It in no way binds our hands. What it does is merely to say to the whole world that five nations now have nuclear weapons. That is five too many. Let's not have any more. It puts a halt to the arms race and nuclear weaponry.

And what does Mr. Nixon say about this treaty? A treaty that does not jeopardize our defense, a treaty that is in the interest of world peace, a treaty that will stop the spread of nuclear weaponry into the hands of an erratic and dangerous people. Imagine what would have happened had Nasser had nuclear weapons a year ago in June. Imagine what would have happened in some of these countries where they have passionate, erratic leadership with nuclear weapons in their hands? Mr. Nixon, however, has put his political advantages as he sees it on this treaty above the national interest. I submit to you that there is no political advantage ultimately. If you put political life and politics above the national interest. And I call again for the hundredth time upon Mr. Nixon to act like a statesman and to come forth and use his influence amongst the Republicans in the Congress of the United States to get this treaty ratified as another building block for peace.

Well, I got all wound up here. I am taking too much of your time. I want to say a word about law and order, because everybody is on that theme. Isn't it interesting that the people that think the most about law and order and talk the most about law and order have the poorest record. Mr. Wallace, candidate of the Third Party. His state has the highest rate of murder of any state in the United States. And he is the candidate for law and order.

Crime increased 55 percent in his state during his administration. He is the candidate for law and order.

Mr. Nixon -- I don't know which state he is from. But I want to tell you, if he takes either one, California or New York, they are not winning any gold medals for law and order. Your state of Minnesota is one of the lowest states in lawlessness. It has an excellent record. I think we are about 35th, as I recall it. We are way down the list. In other words, we have a pretty good record here. I don't take credit for it, but since the opposition seems to insist that if you have Democrats in office, you have a bad record for lawlessness, I thought maybe I would just mention these things.

But I think you would be interested to know that the Republican nominee for Vice President, his state -- and he is the governor of that state -- has the fourth highest record for lawlessness and crime. And my candidate for vice president has the fifth lowest. So when it comes to vice presidents, let's just leave it on that. Muskie is way ahead of Agnew.

You and I know what it takes for law and order. It isn't rhetoric or slogans. These bumper stickers that say, support your police. All right, support them. I will tell you how to support them -- pay them more money.

Did you ever hear any of these men, Mr. Nixon or Mr. Wallace, say that? Oh, no. The average police officer in this country gets two-thirds of a living wage. That is a fact, two thirds of a living wage. And we put him in the front line of the security of our cities and our country. I served as Mayor of this city and the Police Federation of this city knows that one of the first things I did was to go to the City Council and ask them to increase the wages of the policemen and you had the first 40-hour week of any police department in the United States.

And what's more, we gave this town law and order. We did not have our disputes settled on the streets. And we did not let organized crime run this town. And the City of Minneapolis has had a good police department, one that has the respect and the confidence of the citizenry of this state and of this city and well it should. Law and order comes when you have better men, better pay, better training, and better equipment with public support. And I have given that. And I have said in my program for law and order that the federal government must help these cities pay the bill, just as Mayor Birn knows and any other mayor, the cities today are strapped for revenue. If you want to have a war on crime, you had better equip the troops. And if you want to have a war on lawlessness, you had better be willing to pay the bill.

Peace and freedom, said John Kennedy, are not cheap. And law and order are not cheap either. But you can get them. And if you make me your President, I will help mobilize the resources of your federal, state and local governments to see to it that law and order is a pattern of conduct in this country, that violence is suppressed, and that we build a just and fair society.

Now, I just want to talk to you about one other item. I have mentioned to you your stake in this election. I think you know, my dear friends, that Mr. Nixon fails to cast a single vote in his whole period in Congress, House or Senate, for a fair labor-management relations. I think you know that he helped draft and pass the Taft-Hartley Act and re-pass it over Harry Truman's veto. I think you know that he worked against legislation that John Blatnick and others in their early days in the House designed to aid our chronically depressed areas. I think you know that he never voted for an equitable

regulation of welfare and pension funds. I think you know that he opposed safeguards for the Davis-Bacon wage provisions. I think you know that he even sponsored legislation to limit the coverage of the minimum wage. If anybody had a stake in this election, it is the labor movement. The candidate for the Republican Party has never given you one friendly vote in one moment of his public life.

Now, all that we want to do requires that we pull together. I said when I became a candidate that I wanted to speak up for our country. I said I did not think America was sick, but rather that America was growing. I said that America had not lost its way, but was searching for a better way. But we now come to a crucial election in which voices are being raised in this country to arouse people's anger and passion. We have prejudice and passion. We have one candidate who is an open racist. We have another candidate who has made a very strange alliance with Mr. Dixiecrat -- Strom Thurmond, who left the Democratic Party in 1948 because he could not stand what I was trying to preach for that party, because he could not agree with our platform on equal rights and civil rights, Strom Thurmond who walked out and organized the Dixiecrat Party of 1948, and left us. May I say it was one of the great improvements that has come to our party.

Strom Thurmond who saw the exit sign in Philadelphia and walked out so that Mr. Truman could walk into the White House. That same Strom Thurmond in 1968 saw the entrance sign in Miami and walked in arm in arm with Richard Nixon and has been out around the country preaching that this is the man that ought to be elected President.

Is it any wonder that Mr. Fortas is having trouble being confirmed as chief justice of the United States? Is it any wonder that Mr. Nixon goes to North Carolina and says he is for the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, but he thinks that the laws of the federal government are too harsh, that we are trying to implement it too fast? Is it any wonder that he comes up to Des Moines, Iowa, where of course, their Negro population is tremendous, and says that maybe there ought to be federal regulations.

Is it any wonder that he is the candidate that says yes, but?

Ladies and gentlemen, when I selected my Vice President, I did not have to consult with the forces of the past. I did not have to clear it with anybody. I selected a man that has served his country two terms in the United States Senate, two terms as Governor of his state, a liberal, progressive-minded man, college educated, Phi Beta Kappa, a man that served in peace and war, a man of impeccable integrity, the author of the Model Cities legislation, an expert in intergovernmental relations, a man that has never turned his back on the labor movement or the progressive cause -- that is the kind of man I picked.

I did not have to make a deal. I did not have to enter into any alliance. I did not have any arrangements. And I think it is very important for the labor movement and the American people to start asking some questions.

What were the promises, if any, about the judges who will serve on the United States Supreme Court? Because Mr. Thurmond has led the fight in the Senate of the United States for ten years -- yes, longer than that; for 15 years to try to curb the powers of that court. He has condemned that court as being too liberal. I want to know and the American people want to know whether there were any commitments made? Were there any suggestions made? Because the Supreme Court has been the protector of the people's liberties. A separate

judiciary from the Executive and the legislative. The next President of the United States will undoubtedly have the opportunity to appoint two or three more Supreme Court Justices. I think it will be interesting to know whether anybody has made any commitments. I think it would be interesting to know why he ever had to talk with Strom Thurmond about it at all? Why do you have to clear it with Strom? That is what I would like to know.

Why do you have to make an alliance with the midnight of the south, the darkness, the pitch black of the midnight of the south of yesterday. I take my stand with the dawn of the new south of tomorrow and with the rest of America that moves forward.

So, my friends, the issue is sharply drawn: Will we have two Americas, separate and unequal? Will we have an America of the black and the white, of the rich and the poor, of the worker and the farmer, of the urban and the rural, of the north and the south? Will we listen to voices that preach emotion and passion and fear and despair? Or are we going to do what you have tried to do in this labor movement? You have talked about solidarity. You have talked about a oneness. You have supported each other. And you have stood together and you have known that division in your ranks was weakness. You have known that you could not build the kind of labor movement that you need if you were divided and torn apart. You can't build a strong America divided, either.

Benjamin Franklin said at that historical constitutional convention, we will either hang together or we will hang separately. Lincoln said, we cannot be half slave and half free. And he said to us that this America is the last best hope of earth. I have taken my stand for 25 years. Much of those 25 years, that stand has not been popular. I have had to suffer the slings and the arrows, I have had to suffer the sticks and stones of the bigots and the racist in this country who thought I was leaning too far, going too fast by asking that Americans treat each other as citizens and as neighbors and friends rather than enemies. Well, I have taken my stand and that stand is either going to be ratified in this election or rejected, because there is a great national referendum taking place.

Will America be divided? Will it be an America of repression? Will it be an America of reaction or will it be an America of progress? Will it be an America of justice? And will it be an America of one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all? It is up to you.

Thank you.

✓ *Don Rose*
Neil S. Shurhorne
REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
MINNESOTA AFL-CIO
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
Tuesday, September 24, 1968

Blatnik
Karth
Fraser

Fred Harris
Mondak

I've come home to Minnesota to talk frankly about the
hard realities which confront this nation ... and about the
challenges facing the greatest instrument of human progress
ever fashioned by the hands of free men -- the Democratic Party.

There are at least five crucial reasons why the Democratic
Party must win in November.

First, our prosperity.

(X)

I do not accept the Nixon-Republican "trickle down" theory
of economic growth -- with all the benefits going in at the top and
trickling down down to the working man.

I believe in healthy Democratic paychecks -- not lean
Republican ones.

and then having the
economy choke up
every other
year.

I believe in the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey economic policies of the 1960's which raised personal income -- after taxes -- and after cost of living increases -- three times faster than during the Nixon-Republican years.

The Republicans tell us they're proud of their economic record -- a record that included three recessions ... an unemployment rate of nearly seven per cent ^{by} ~~in~~ 1961, with take-home family income falling ... an annual waste of fifty billion dollars through idle productive capacity.

Loss in income from unemployment \$175 billion

If they're proud of that -- and they say they are -- they haven't learned.

I don't think America can afford another stretch of Republican on-the-job economic training.

Second, the Democratic Party must win to bring peace in the world.

Peace !!

Programs of 1948-61 would have cost American taxpayers \$100 Billion Had they passed

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President takes office on January 20, 1969.

We all pray that we shall have reached a cease-fire... with the killing ended ... with serious negotiations going forward toward a durable peace ... and with the South Vietnamese carrying a greater share of their own burden.

I run on the Platform of my party -
A program for Peace, Prosperity & Progress
A program for Ending the war, Expanding the economy and bringing justice to our people
on Vietnam, that platform paints the way to an honorable peace - paints the way to progress in the negotiations, to ending the bombing without jeopardizing the safety of our troops; to reduction in American forces - to Americanization of the war; it paints the way to free elections where the future of S. Vietnam is to be decided by the people of S. Vietnam

But if the war still continues on January 20, 1969,

I make this pledge:

The first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to end the war in Vietnam.

But if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow, there would still be ~~tensions~~ ^{the dangerous tensions} in the world ~~we would have to face and overcome.~~ ^{reducing these dangers}

Today we can take a major step toward ~~the goal~~ and increase the safety of our people.

Pending in the Senate is a treaty which will stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty countries have already signed it.

This treaty is one of the most hopeful and important steps toward a world free of nuclear terror.

Unless we want to risk every border skirmish becoming a nuclear war ... unless we want 15 or 20 countries with nuclear weapons, the United States Senate must ratify this treaty -- now.

Richard Nixon is stalling on this treaty -- and he may
well bring it crashing down to defeat.

I urge Mr. Nixon to come out of the shadows -- to stop
stalling -- and ~~to tell us whether he is for this treaty now.~~

*Start acting in the national
interest, rather than his short term political
interest -- and help get this treaty passed.*

#3 Third, we must go beyond the New Deal ... to open a
New Day for all Americans.

We are now ready to reach new goals, and fulfill new needs
for the average American. And there is only one Party which has
ever paid any attention to the needs of average America -- the
Democratic Party.

I have proposed a practical and specific blueprint for action
against crime and lawlessness. I have proposed putting the ~~money~~ ^{resources}
of the federal government behind our local police departments --
better salaries, better training, advanced equipment.

∟ That's how I propose to support our local police -- not just by slogans and fear-mongering.

Lower order justice
∟ I am the only candidate who has ever managed a city police department and actually cleaned up organized crime and crime in the streets. And some of you will remember that we got the FBI award for doing it right here in Minneapolis.

∟ I have proposed to bring college and vocational education within the reach of millions of American youngsters -- without bankrupting their families.

Elementary + Secondary Schools

∟ Long ago I began pushing for Federal aid to colleges and universities -- and I had to fight the Nixon-Republicans every step of the way.

∟ Last year, as a result of Democratic leadership, over 600,000 young men and women -- many of them sons and daughters of union members -- received scholarships and loans to attend college.

*another investment
you would
not have
made*

Now I have pledged the Humphrey-Muskie Administration to press for legislation to assure every child a full education from age four through college or advanced training -- on the basis of his ability to learn and not his ability to pay.

Yes, it will cost money. But, in the long run, it will cost far more if we don't make this investment in our greatest national resource -- our sons and daughters.

Millions of Americans today are worried about the crush of taxes ... about making ends meet on a moderate income ... about inflation.

I have pledged myself to tax reform -- where we look for every possible means to distribute the national tax burden more equally, reducing pressures on low and middle income families.

But let the record be absolutely clear on this point: Today -- even with the recent tax increase -- lower and middle income families are paying less taxes than in 1961. The 20 per cent bracket of 1961 is only 14 per cent now and the 30 per cent bracket is now 27.5 per cent.

We will explore sharing Federal revenues with states and cities, so that your local schools and local public services can be improved -- so that your ^{city}~~city~~ will have the chance to hold the line or cut back on local property taxes.

* * *

Fourth, the Democratic Party must win to achieve unity, reconciliation and justice in America.

∠ America means equality and opportunity for all. We cannot become two nations divided between city and suburb -- rich and poor -- black and white -- north and south -- young and old.

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years -- that we can only be one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

And I ask every candidate in this election to speak out clearly on human rights.

* * *

Fifth, the Democratic Party must win to protect the hard-won gains of American workers -- and to move forward toward greater prosperity and opportunity for all.

No matter what he says today, Mr. Nixon's public record for 22 years condemns him as an enemy of labor and an enemy of the working man.

∟ In four years in the House -- two years in the Senate -- and eight years as Vice President -- Mr. Nixon failed to cast a single vote for Fair Labor-Management Relations legislation ... equitable regulation of welfare and pension funds ... safeguards for Davis-Bacon wage provisions ... adequate unemployment compensation ... or the relief of chronically depressed areas.

∟ Mr. Nixon helped draft and pass Taft-Hartley ... and repass it over Harry Truman's veto.

∟ Mr. Nixon voted to weaken the Minimum Wage Act by eliminating -- instead of expanding -- coverage for about one million workers.

Mr. Nixon consistently advocated a labor policy which ~~make unions less effective in protecting~~
would ~~keep Government~~ ~~the rights of workers~~ ~~out of labor management disputes~~ ^{He advocated} invoke governmental powers
against unions ... leave unemployment compensation questions
to the states.

George Wallace, too, says he is a friend of the "little man" ...
of the workingman.

But listen to George Meany tell it like it is about
Mr. Wallace: "... The record of low wages ... poor working
conditions ... high crime rate ... high illiteracy rates ... and
anti-unionism ... segregation and prejudice in Alabama testifies
to the falsity of that claim."

George Wallace, who says he will restore "law and order,"
was Governor of a state which has one of the highest murder rates ---
roughly twice that for the whole country.

When George Wallace ran Alabama from 1962 to 1966,
crime rose 55.6 per cent -- higher than the national increase.

In Wallace-land, the worker finds low wages ... low
unemployment benefits ... the lowest workmen's compensation
in the country ... unemployment rates above the national
average ... and the highest sales tax in the country.

I say words count for little when actions speak so loudly.

* * *

↳ I come before you under no false colors.

For 25 years I have been in the middle of every major
battle the Democratic Party has fought in the cause of human
liberation.

We have won some battles -- and we have lost some.

I have a few bumps and bruises.

↳ But I look back and I know how far we've come.

I know how we have brought this nation forward -- usually against the determined opposition of the Republicans -- and often against the personal opposition of their candidate for the Presidency.

∠ And I say these years -- these battles -- tell us something about who ought to lead this nation in the difficult years ahead.

I say these years have told the story of who is there when the chips are down ... who is there when your future, and the future of your children, is on the line.

∠ This is a difficult campaign.

The newspapers say I'm the underdog -- and I always believe what I read in the papers.

But let me say this: I don't believe for one minute that the American people will, in the end, forget the differences between Humphrey-Muskie Democrats and Nixon-Agnew Republicans.

∠ I intend to stump this country -- just as I used to stump this state -- until every American family understands clearly their choice in this election.

I want it to be said of Hubert Humphrey that in an important and tough moment of ~~his~~ ^{his} life, he stood by what he believed.

And I want it said of the American people that in an important and ^{critical} ~~tough~~ election, they had the courage to go forward under the Democratic banner.

I have come home to Minnesota to ask your help.

#

BOB KLEIN DRAFT -- MINNESOTA AFL-CIO
DRAFT 9-21-68
SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

I've come home to Minnesota to talk with you bluntly and frankly about the hard realities which confront this nation... and about the challenges facing the greatest instrument of human progress ever fashioned by the hands of free men -- the Democratic Party.

~~I don't~~

There are at least five crucial reasons why the Democrats ~~have to~~ ^{must} win in November:

First, our prosperity.

I do not accept the Republican-Nixon "trickle down" theory of economic growth -- with all the benefits going in at the top and trickling down to the workingman.

I believe in fat Democratic paychecks, not lean Republican ones.

I believe in the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey economics policies of the 1960's which raised personal income -- after taxes -- and after ^{Cost of living} ~~continuing~~ increases -- ^{three times} faster than during the Republican-Nixon years.

The Republicans tell us they're proud of their economic record -- a record that included three recessions.. an unemployment rate of nearly 7 percent in 1961, with real family income falling...an annual waste of 50 billion dollars through idle productive capacity.

If they're proud of that -- and they say they are -- they haven't learned. And ~~I don't think America can afford~~ ~~I'm not willing to trust their~~

~~another stretch of Reconstruction on the job training,~~
~~economic leadership.~~

~~the Democrats must win to bring~~
Second, peace in Vietnam and peace in the world.

~~to secure~~
No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President takes office.

We all pray that we shall have reached a cease-fire, with the killing ended, and with serious negotiations going forward toward a durable peace.

~~But if the war still continues on Jan. 20, 1969, I make this pledge.~~
My position in Vietnam is clear.

I run for President on the platform of the Democratic Party which points the way to an honorable settlement, yet protects the lives of American troops committed there.

I am for free elections open to all major factions and parties.

I am for a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam.

I am for the long-term economic, social and political development of this war-torn land.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, candidate and Vice-President, I pledge that I will do everything in my power to bring a prompt end to this war while aiding the Paris peace negotiations.

But if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow, there would still be tensions in the world we must face and overcome.

The first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to send the war in Vietnam to the bottom. If there is one lesson we have learned, it is that the policies of yesterday need not be limited to the policies of yesterday.

Treaty is one of the
Today we ~~have an opportunity to~~ ^{can} take a major step toward that goal and vastly increase our security in the process. ~~There's a treaty~~ ^{is a treaty} pending in the Senate, which will stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty countries have already signed it. ~~Since the dawn of the nuclear age, this is, in my opinion, one of the~~ ^{and important} most hopeful steps in 20 years toward a world free of nuclear terror. ~~Unless we want every small-time dictator to get his hands on nuclear bombs, the USA must ratify this treaty - now.~~ ^{to the risk of every border skirmish becoming a nuclear war, the United States}

~~Richard Nixon is stalling on this treaty, and he may well help bring it crashing down to defeat.~~

^{Mr.} I urge Nixon to come out of the shadows ^{-- to} stop stalling ^{to} and tell us whether he is for this treaty now!

Third, we must go beyond the New Deal...to open a New Day ^{for all Americans.}

Nearly all the goals of the New Deal have been reached.

Millions of Americans have assumed a real stake in America and want to protect that stake -- with the help, encouragement and aid of the Democratic Party.

We are now ready to reach new goals, and fulfill new needs for the average American. And there is only one party which has ever paid any attention to the needs of average America -- the Democratic Party.

~~One of these needs is for greater personal safety.~~

First, we need greater personal security and safety.

That is why I have proposed Operation America.
in the Congress

and specific

I have proposed a practical ~~84~~ point blueprint for action against crime and lawlessness, *I have proposed putting the muscle of the Federal Govt* which would place massive resources of federal money and technology behind your local police department. *... better salaries, better training, advanced equipment.* They haven't had it before. Now *That's how I propose to support your local police.* is the time.

I say Slogans and fear-mongering are a sure ticket to disaster.

I'm the only candidate who has ever managed a city police department and actually has experience in cleaning up organized crime and crime in the streets. And some of you will remember that I got a FBI ~~award~~ award for doing it right here in Minneapolis.

I have proposed Another need is to bring college and vocational education within reach of millions of America youngsters -- without bankrupting their families.

And I fear for the Union-Republican voting step of the way.
I recognized that need many years ago when I began pushing for federal aid to colleges and universities -- *Now I* have pledged *the Humphrey-McClintock* that a new Democratic Administration *to* will press for legislation to assure every child a full education for his four years through college -- *on advanced training* on the basis of his ability to learn and not his ability to pay. *Yes, it will cost money.* Costly? No, it is an

But, in the long run, it will cost far more if we don't make this investment in our greatest national resource -- your sons and daughters.

And millions of Americans today are worried about the crush of taxes...about making ends meet on a moderate income...about inflation.

I have pledged myself to a ~~thorough study of tax~~ reform, *where we* in which we look *for* at every possible means to distribute

the national tax burden more equally, thereby reducing pressures on low and middle income families.

We will explore ~~the feasibility of~~ sharing federal revenues with states and cities, so that ^{you} local schools and local public services can be ~~greatly~~ improved, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{so that you} ~~your~~ mayor ~~might find himself able~~ ^{will have the chance} to hold the line or cut back on local property taxes.

^{this Democrats must win to achieve} Fourth, ^{unity} and reconciliation and justice in ^{America} this country.

All we achieve, all we aspire to, all our prosperity, our homes and gardens and cars and swimming pools, will amount to little if they represent only the shattered hopes and dreams of other Americans.

"America" means equality and opportunity. We cannot become two nations divided between city and suburb, rich and poor, black and white, young and old.

Just as there can be no compromise on the rights of personal security and safety in the streets and in one's home, so there can be no compromise on securing human rights for every American.

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years -- that we can only be one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

~~We cannot build out~~

And I ask every candidate in this election to speak out clearly on human rights.

But let the record be absolutely clear on this point: today -- even with the recent ~~tax increases~~ -- low and middle income families are paying less taxes than in 1961. The 20% bracket of 1961 is only 14% now and the 30% bracket is 27.5% now. ~~but the 50% bracket is 44%~~

~~Is Mr. Nixon for human rights? Is Mr. Wallace?~~

~~I leave the conclusion to you and voters.~~

the Democrats must win to defeat our opponents --
Fifth, ~~we must at all costs avoid electing Richard~~
to protect the hard-won gains of American workers -- to
~~Nixon and George Wallace.~~
move forward toward greater prosperity and opportunity for all.
No matter what he says today, Richard Nixon's 22

year public record condemns him as an enemy of labor and an
enemy of the workingman.

In four years in the House [^] two years in the Senate --
and eight years as Vice-President -- quoting the AFL-CIO
COPE record -- "Mr. Nixon...failed to cast a single vote for
fair labor-management relations legislation, equitable regulation
of welfare and pension funds, safeguards for Davis-Bacon wage
provisions, adequate unemployment compensation, or the relief
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which would restrict the power of union leaders ^{^^} keep
government out of labor-management disputes ^{^^} invoke
governmental powers against unions ~~rather than against~~
~~management.~~ leave unemployment compensation questions to
the states.

~~And that's not all.~~

after 16 years of Nixon - Republican opposition.

Millions of ordinary American families would like to know why Richard Nixon is against federal aid to improve their local schools...raise teacher salaries...and help cut back local property taxes? They want to know why Nixon refused to cast his tie breaking vote in 1960 in the Senate which would have released over \$1 billion in federal money to build local public schools and pay local teacher salaries.

Millions of older American want to know why Richard Nixon has been against Medicare -- which Democrats passed ~~and why he, *does Mr. Nixon* thinks it's a socialistic scheme?~~

Ninety-six percent of the policemen murdered in 1967 were murdered with guns. Millions of Americans want to know why Mr. Nixon won't tell them whether he approves of strong federal gun control laws.

And George Wallace.

George Wallace says he is a friend of the "little man"...of the working man.

But listen to George Meany tell it like it is on *Mr.* Wallace: "His pretense to be the friend of the workingman is especially galling...The record of low wages, poor working conditions, high crime rate, high illiteracy rates, and anti-unionism, segregation and prejudice in Alabama testifies to the falsity of that claim."

George Wallace, who says he will restore "law and order," governed Alabama from 1962-1966 -- a state which has one of the highest murder rates in the nation --roughly twice that for the whole ~~USA~~ *Country*.

(I say ~~that~~ words count ~~little~~ for little when actions speak loudly.

-8-

When ^{ran} George Wallace headed Alabama from 1962-66, ~~when~~ ^{under his leadership} crime rose 55.6 percent -- that state had an overall rise in crime of 55.6% -- higher than the national increase.

You know who speaks for the hate peddlers and bigots of America.

He does not speak for the common man. He does not speak for decency. He does not speak for America.

Last

I ^{fake} come before you under no ~~fake~~ colors.

I don't pretend to be a perfectionist.

^{insert A}
For 25 years I have been in the middle of every fight. I've been a good soldier in the wars of human liberation. ~~We Democrats we have fought in the cause of human rights and liberation.~~

I appeal to you in the name of peace -- for which I have worked for 25 years...

In the name of meeting human needs -- for which I have always stood...

In the name of prosperity and justice -- in which I have always believed...

And in the name of a better, more happy, more beautiful America in which every man marches to the sound of his own drum, and every citizen may love his fellow man.

^{ask}
I need your help.

^{worker}
(In Waller-land, the ~~workingman~~ finds low wages -- low unemployment benefits -- the lowest workmen's compensation in the country -- unemployment rates above the national average -- and the highest sales tax in the country.

Those are the facts about the workingman's "problem" in Alabama. So who needs him?

Wallace - hand,

For 25 years I have been in the middle of every major battle the Democrats have fought in the cause of human liberation.

We have won some battles . . . and we have lost some.

And I have a few bumps and bruises.

But I look back and I know how far we've come . . . I know how we have brought this nation forward--usually against the determined opposition of the Republicans . . . and often against the personal opposition of their candidate for the Presidency.

And I say these years. . . these battles . . . ~~xxxxxx~~ tell us ~~xxxxxx~~ something about who ought to lead this nation in the difficult years ahead.

I say these years have told the story of who is there when the chips are down . . . who is there when your future, and the future of your children, is on the line.

This is a difficult campaign. ~~But so were all the battles we~~

The ~~xxx~~ newspapers say I'm the underdog . . . and I always believe what I read in the papers.

But let me say this: I don't believe for one minute that the American people will, in the end, forget the differences between ^{Humphrey-Muskie} Democrats and Nixon-Agnew Republicans.

And so I intend to stump this country--just as I used to stump this state--until every American family ~~remembers~~ understands clearly their choice in this election.

~~And~~ I want it to be said of Hubert Humphrey--that in an important ~~and~~ and tough moment of his life--he stood by what he believed.

And I want it said of the American people--that in an important and tough election--they had the courage, ~~and xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx, xxxxxx~~ to go forward under the Democratic banner.

I have come home to Minnesota to ask your help.

TWXed to Toledo 9-22
Approved by Ted 9-23
Sent to Ev Munsey 9-23 12:00 noon
TWX to Minneapolis 9-23 910 576-2969

~~TWX to Minneapolis~~

~~MINNESOTA AFL-CIO~~

~~DRAFT 9/21/68~~
FOR WED. AM RELEASE

AFL-CIO State Convention
Minneapolis, Minnesota
September 24, 1968

I've come home to Minnesota to talk with you bluntly and frankly about the hard realities which confront this nation... and about the challenges facing the greatest instrument of human progress ever fashioned by the hands of free men -- the Democratic Party.

There are at least five crucial reasons why the Democrats must win in November:

First, our prosperity.

I do not accept the Republican-Nixon "trickle down" theory of economic growth -- with all the benefits going in at the top and trickling down to the workingman.

I believe in fat Democratic paychecks, not lean Republican ones.

I believe in the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey economic policies of the 1960's which raised personal income -- after taxes -- and after cost of living increases -- three times faster than during the Republican-Nixon year.

The Republicans tell us they're proud of their economic record -- a record that included three recessions... an unemployment rate of nearly 7 percent in 1961, with real family income falling...an annual waste of 50 billion dollars through idle productive capacity.

If they're proud of that -- and they say they are -- they haven't learned. I don't think America can afford another stretch of Republican on-the-job training.

Second, the Democrats must win to bring peace in Vietnam and to secure peace in the world.

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President takes office.

We all pray that we shall have reached a cease-fire, with the killing ended, and with serious negotiations going forward toward a durable peace.

But if the war still continues on January 20, 1969, I make this pledge:

The first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to end the war in Vietnam.

X ~~If there is one lesson we have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited to the policies of yesterday.~~

But if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow, there would still be tensions in the world we must face and overcome.

Today we can take a major step toward that goal and vastly increase our security in the process.

Pending in the Senate is a treaty which will stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty countries have already signed it.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, this treaty is one of the most hopeful and important steps toward a world free of nuclear terror.

Unless we want to risk every border skirmish becoming a nuclear war, the United States must ratify this treaty -- now.

Richard Nixon is stalling on this treaty -- and he may well bring it crashing down to defeat.

I urge Mr. Nixon to come out of the shadows -- to stop stalling -- and to tell us whether he is for this treaty now!

Third, we must go beyond the New Deal...to open a New Day for all Americans.

Nearly all the goals of the New Deal have been reached.

~~Millions of Americans have assumed a real stake in America and want to protect that stake -- with the help, encouragement and aid of the Democratic Party.~~

We are now ready to reach new goals, and fulfill new needs for the average American. And there is only one party which has ever paid any attention to the needs of average America -- the Democratic Party.

~~XXXXX we need greater~~

~~the Humphrey-McCarthy Team~~

That is why I have proposed Operation America.

~~First, we need greater personal security and~~

~~safety.~~

I have proposed a practical and specific blueprint for action against crime and lawlessness. I have proposed putting the muscle of the Federal Government behind your local police department -- better salaries, better training, advanced equipment.

That's how I propose to support your local police -- *and* I say slogans and fear-mongering are a sure ticket to disaster.

I'm the only candidate who has ever managed a city police department and actually ~~has experience in cleaning~~ *cleaned* up organized crime and crime in the streets. And some of you will remember that I got ^{the} A FBI award for doing it right ~~here~~ *here* in Minneapolis.

~~I~~ I have proposed to bring college and vocational education within reach of millions of American youngsters -- without bankrupting their families.

20m ago
I began pushing for federal aid to colleges and universities -- and I had to fight the Nixon-Republican every step of the way. Now I have pledged the Humphrey-Muskie Administration to press for legislation to assure every child a full education ~~for his four years~~ *from age four* through college or advanced training -- on the basis of his ability to learn and not his ability to pay.

Costly? Yes, it will cost money. But, in the long run, it will cost far more if we don't make this investment in our greatest national resource -- your sons and daughters.

Last year, as a result of Democratic leadership, over 600,000 young men and women -- many of them sons and daughters of union members -- received scholarships and loans to attend college.

*As a result of the Higher Education Act of 1965
Last year over 600,000 young*

Millions of Americans today are worried about the crush of taxes...about making ends meet on a moderate income... about inflation.

I have pledged myself to tax reform where we look for every possible means to distribute the national tax burden more equally, thereby reducing pressures on low and middle income families.

~~We will explore~~

But let the record be absolutely clear on this point: Today -- even with the recent tax increase -- lower and middle income families are paying less taxes than in 1961. The 20% bracket of 1961 is only 14% now and the 30% bracket is ^{now} 27.5%, ~~now.~~

We will explore sharing federal revenues with states and cities, so that your local schools and local public services can be improved -- so that your mayor will have the chance to hold the line or cut back on local property taxes.

Fourth, the Democrats must win to achieve unity, reconciliation and justice in America.

~~All we achieve -- all we aspire to -- all our prosperity -- our homes and gardens and cars and swimming pools -- will amount to little if they represent only the shattered hopes and dreams of other Americans.~~

"America" means equality and opportunity. ^{for all} We cannot become two nations divided between city and suburb -- rich and poor -- black and white -- young and old.

Just as there can be no compromise on the rights of personal security and safety in the streets and in one's home, so there can be no compromise on securing human rights for every American.

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years -- that we can only be one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

And I ask every candidate in this election to speak out clearly on human rights.

Fifth, the Democrats must win to protect the hard-won gains of American workers -- and to move forward toward greater prosperity and opportunity for all.

No matter what he says today, ^{Mr.} ~~Richard~~ Nixon's ~~27~~ ^{for 22 years} ~~year~~ public record condemns him as an enemy of labor and an enemy of the workingman..

In four years in the House -- two years in the Senate -- and eight years as Vice-President -- ~~quoting the AFL-CIO COPE record --~~ "Mr. Nixon...failed to cast a single vote for fair labor-management relations legislation, equitable regulation of welfare and pension funds, safeguards for Davis-Bacon wage provisions, adequate unemployment compensation, or the relief of chronically depressed areas."

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In Wallace-land, the worker finds low wages -- low unemployment benefits -- the lowest workmen's compensation in the country -- unemployment rates above the national average -- and the highest sales tax in the country.

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